1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

601 father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

601 The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two fur-
608 ther categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category
572 of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[a] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

561 The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by
• 862 relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods,
882 weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[a] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

recurring discomforts that an infant experiences. The mother keeps her breast constantly available, so that for the most part the infant is able to satisfy this drive by merely exercising the innate sucking reflex. He does learn, however, that certain preliminary behavior is useful in bringing satisfaction more quickly and efficiently. He learns to turn his head to take the nipple in his mouth, to stop sucking from one breast when it becomes dry, and finally even to lift himself from a prone position to a vantage point from which he can suckle. Suw, one of the older infants of the hamlet, had learned to do all these things very adeptly. Kadowan and Njan, whom I first observed when they were three months old, depended almost entirely on the mother to lift them to the proper position, to help them get the nipple into the mouth, and to change the breast for them at the proper time. Nevertheless they already manifested some of these instrumental acts in incipient form.

Suw, who was almost old enough to be weaned, had learned to grasp other objects besides his mother's breast and to put them into his mouth. At times he even crawled about the porch floor in order to examine things which caught his interest. One of his first responses to these objects was to lift them to his mouth. Compared to ourselves, the Kwoma are exceptionally permissive toward this type of behavior. I once saw Suw with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him. As a result of such trial-and-error investigations, the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible. Mother's beads, father's adz, or brother's pith ball not only do not satisfy hunger but sometimes even hurt one's mouth.

Toward the end of infancy the Kwoma mother begins to prepare her child for weaning by introducing foods other than milk into the diet. At first she bends over and transfers masticated food from her mouth into that of her child. Later she gives him a spoonful of soup or a bit of gruel. Even infants as young as Kadowan and Njan were given a small piece of pork to chew on; this probably served both as nourishment and as a pacifier.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[a] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[a] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37–53).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother 866
stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding.

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a head- [757]
ache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter.

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to in- 869
clude supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, 866
snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of [862].
the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him.

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in seri-
862 ous danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents
[869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety.
862 His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being
152 pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[4] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[4] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

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[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13. Kwoma OJ13

ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

121 861 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[816] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 776 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 795 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.